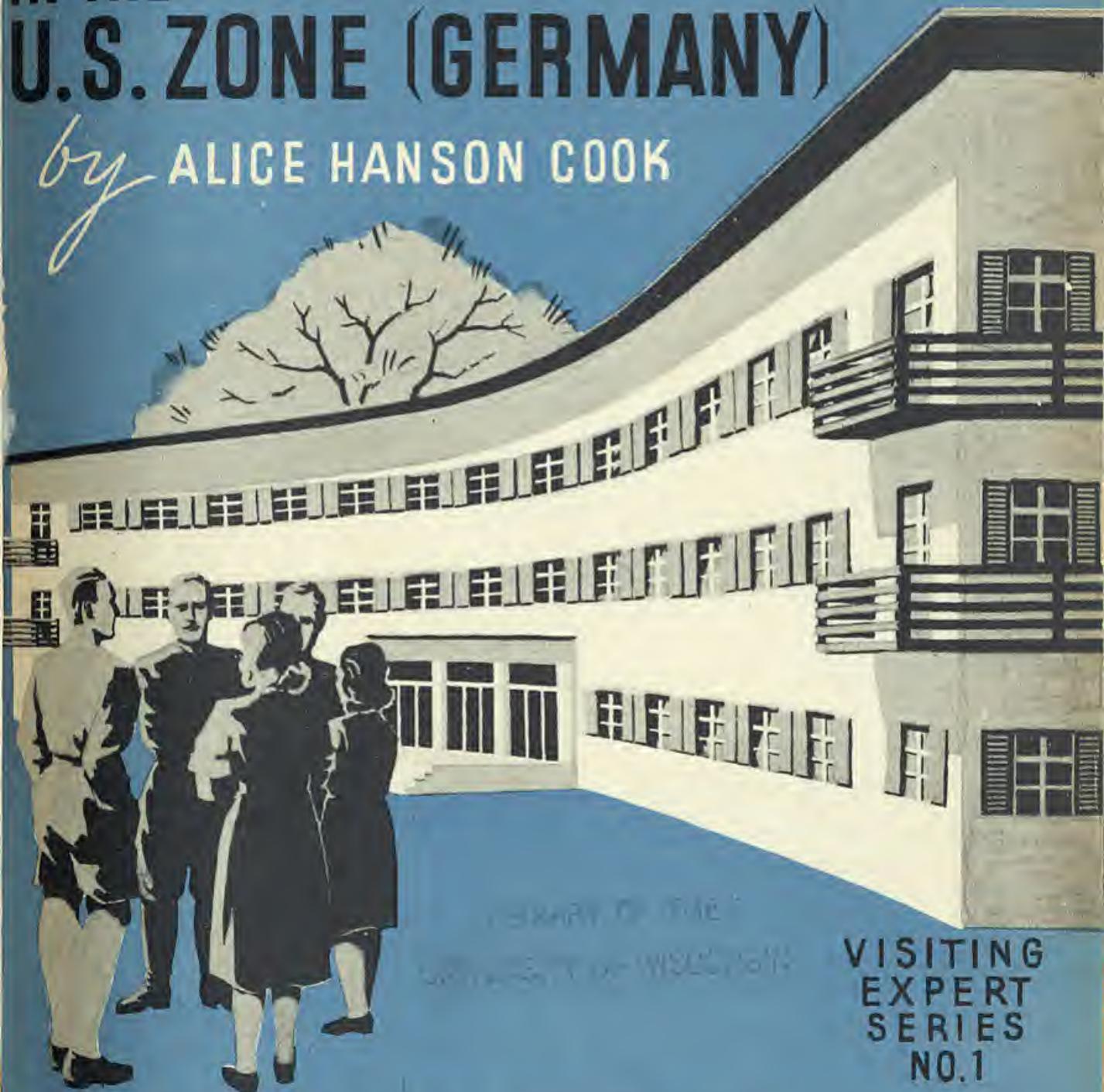


WORKERS EDUCATION  
IN THE  
**U.S. ZONE (GERMANY)**

*by* ALICE HANSON COOK



VISITING  
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WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE U. S. ZONE OF GERMANY

by

ALICE HANSON COOK

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- o. 4 - Shaw, Charles E., "Human Relations in Industry." December 1948.

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## FOREWORD

Labor unions in Germany can contribute much to the process of democratic reorientation which is one of the basic objectives of the occupation. Their devotion to democracy and international understanding prior to 1933 is but one reason for believing that organized labor in Germany may be expected to follow the same path. The German trade unions have learned through bitter experience that their organizations can truly fulfill the interests of the working population only within a democratic framework. They also possess, at least in Western Germany and among the democratic trade unions of Berlin, a determination to withstand totalitarian onslaughts regardless of the direction from which they may come.

In order to succeed in their efforts to restore a living faith in the values of democracy, the German trade unions must develop in their membership as well as in their leadership a keen understanding of the role of organized labor in a democratic society. The human resources required for the accomplishment of this mission were greatly impoverished during the Nazi regime when many of the former trade union leaders were exterminated and when an entire generation was raised in ignorance of genuine labor organization. German trade union leaders, who are well aware of the urgent need to make up these losses, are therefore devoting much attention to labor education.

The study prepared by Mrs. Cook was undertaken at a time when the initial efforts were being made in the reestablishment of labor education. It is a credit to the German trade unions that labor education has made some progress in the period since the report was written. Mrs. Cook's study represents an important contribution to an understanding of the background and the trends of thought which have made possible these later developments.

*Lec 12-31*

LEO R. WERTS  
Director,  
Manpower Division



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The cover picture shows a front view of the educational center at Kochel of the Bavarian Trade Union Federation.



#### NOTES ON THE AUTHOR

Alice Hanson Cook was born in Alexandria, Virginia. After graduation from Northwestern University, she conducted research in German labor education as a Fellow of the Institute of International Education and the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung. During her stay in Germany from 1929 to 1931, she attended the Academy of Labor (Akademie der Arbeit) in Frankfurt, the Universities at Frankfurt and Leipzig, and the Hochschule fuer Politik in Berlin. A thesis on German labor education was prepared on the basis of her first-hand investigations.

Mrs. Cook has taught at labor schools including the Bryn Mawr Summer School, the Southern Summer School for Workers, the Hudson Shore Labor School, and at educational institutes of various trade unions. She has served as educational director for the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, the Textile Workers Union of America, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). In addition, she has taught classes for several local unions, the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, and for the Wilmington Joint Education Committee of the CIO and the AFL. She is now a member of the faculty of the Labor Education Association of Philadelphia and a teacher at the Philadelphia Joint Board, ACWA.

From 1940 to 1944, Mrs. Cook was editor of the "Amalgamated News", the organ of the Philadelphia Joint Board, ACWA. Her writings include: "Workers Education in America" (co-author) in the "John Dewey Yearbook" (1942); "Workers Education on the March" in the April 1939 issue of the "American Teacher"; "Union Counselling, a Manual for Teachers" - CIO Community Services Committee, 1944; and "Teaching Manual for New Members Courses and Leadership Training Courses", ACWA, 1948.

For three years Mrs. Cook served as chairman of the National Academic Freedom Committee of the American Federation of Teachers. She is a member of Local 3 of the American Federation of Teachers.

The attached report on Workers Education in the American Zone of Germany is submitted herewith to the Manpower Division and Education and Religious Affairs Branch, Internal Affairs and Communications Division, Office of Military Government for Germany (U.S.).

It is based on a two months' study of present educational work in the Zone trade unions, and includes observations which it was possible to make in Berlin and Hamburg as well.

Two years intensive study of German workers' education in the years 1929-31 were of great help in the attempts to evaluate present achievements and trends in the German unions. The possibility of picking up old friendships and in some cases renewing acquaintance with old institutions permitted exact comparisons and were of immeasurable help in understanding the post-war developments.

The report has been divided into four main sections:

1. A discussion of the importance of the role of Workers' Education in Military Government's trade union policy ..... page 3
2. A discussion of a number of phases of labor educational policy ..... page 5
3. A description of the educational work the unions are doing today ..... page 15
4. An evaluation of the work ..... page 27
5. Recommendations ..... page 30

Alice Hanson Cook  
Specialist in Workers' Education

Berlin  
June 26, 1947

WORKERS' EDUCATION IN THE U.S. ZONE OF GERMANY  
SINCE THE BEGINNING OF OCCUPATION

by

ALICE HANSON COOK

1. MILITARY GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

Military Government recognized the unions as one of the dependable democratic forces after the collapse of the Nazi regime. Very few union leaders had become Nazis in spite of the pressures of the Hitler period. Many of them had spent months or years in jail in punishment for their anti-Nazi record and persistent anti-Nazi activity.

UNION STRUCTURE

Military Government's first policy was to encourage labor organization at the plant level but to hold back on organization into industrial unions or federations until local leadership could have established itself. Formal organization has now been permitted in the four separate Laender, and zonal and inter-zonal conferences of these Land organizations and of the unions in the other zones have taken place.

This decentralization of union organization within the American Zone. (The British Zone unions have a single federation which includes the Bremen unions as well) and between the zones has produced some differences in union structure, and consequently different machinery and point of view as to the approach to some problems of union administration. Specifically in relation to workers' education, it means that the method of work in this field need not and cannot be uniform throughout the zone.

One thing all the unions have in common is a grouping around large industrial units and the inclusion of all workers regardless of religious or political affiliation. The unions in the different zones operate under unilateral policies tailored by the differing viewpoints of the separate occupying powers. Only the Works Council as an employee organization comes under an Allied Control Council Law which applies to all Germany. However, the implementation of this law differs in each Zone.

Some unions in the British and American Zones have made tentative plans toward uniting into a single federation. But it is difficult for the unions to formulate their ultimate goals, even in terms of structure, when so much depends on the form the German state will assume and the solution it will bring to politico-economic questions. These are questions which can be answered only by the Allied Powers.

Note: The views herein expressed are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of U.S. Military Government.

Is Germany going to continue indefinitely on a four-zonal basis? Will the London conference result in the development of an East Germany under Russian influence and a West Germany under the Western powers? Will there be a currency reform, and for the West Zone alone? Can Germany ever really unite again if the occupation with its divergent economic and political policies continues for a long period? Should the unions give up the hope of a re-united Germany, and for a bizonal or trizonal federation in the West, or shall they continue to be decentralized and maintain what relationships they can with the East Zone on a par with the other zonal federations?

#### LABOR POLITICS

In the absence of union ties to any particular party, all parties, and especially the parties with large working class memberships, want to use the unions for certain of their aims, and to use the unions as areas for recruiting party members.

This development could be regarded with a degree of objectivity if the Communist party with its well-known link to Soviet foreign policy were not exploiting the weaknesses of the situation for all they are worth.

The acute shortage of trade union leadership offers an opportunity for the Communists to fill that gap with their own well schooled representatives. Military Government is in possession of information which shows that the Communist party is conducting its own schools for works councillors thus formalizing the informal infiltration which goes on all the time. The serious danger involved in this situation is that the men and women they are seeking to win over have had no trade union schooling during the whole Nazi period. In their present frustration, non-political workers will grasp for any program which seems to offer answers to their problems. And the already convinced Communists receive an intensive psychological and technical training to fit them for leadership in the present highly unstable and future revolutionary situations.

The set up which gives the works councils special powers and responsibilities in the shops provides the possibility of cutting off the union from direct contacts with the rank and file of workers, if works councillors are politically in opposition to official union policy or leadership. Communist policy apparently is to capture as many of these posts as possible, in order to have a key position for influencing the rank and file of workers for their own trade union policy and thus for using the works councils as an opposition to the unions and their leaders.

The food crisis, the importance of making some kind of decision on Germany's future, the undefined and uncompleted nature of American industrial policy, continued dismantling of factories with their threats of unemployment and further industrial dislocation, the overshadowing black market and the expected currency reform all are grist to the mill of the Communists in the shops. It serves their purposes at present to create confusion and distrust

of the Western powers. Any program they offer in this distress and uncertainty assumes unnatural clarity and acceptance. If the actual example of Russian administration in the East Zone were not so close at hand, there is little doubt that the Communists would have secured almost unimpeded control of the situation in the plants.

#### FUTURE LEADERSHIP

The democratic union leaders who now stand at the heads of practically all the unions are a continuation of the pre-Hitler trade union tradition in Germany. But since most of them got their training in the Weimar years, a great majority of them are old men. Their skill, their democratic convictions and their long experience cannot be easily set aside. But the decisive point will arrive when the present democratic trade union leaders are too old to carry on the work they are now doing.

The natural succession would be from the ranks of lesser responsibility - the works councillors, and local union leadership - to the industrial unions and Land federations.

An education program within the trade unions must aim to train new leadership of a high quality, and at the same time reach into shops with a program of mass education of the rank and file.

Workers' education in this sense is technical training for specific vocations within the labor movement, but it is more than that. It must also give workers a point of view about life and politics - not necessarily a dogmatic explanation of life - but rather a way of life. This combination of way of living and goal of living is democratic - it is not possible to subordinate means to ends as the Communist does without violating the democratic philosophy itself.

The German labor movement has a long educational tradition, and a long democratic tradition. It is important that the unions with all possible encouragement from Military Government once more revitalize the tradition - not just reinstitute the former program, but adapt it to the problems of union organization and the needs of union members today.

#### 2. LABOR EDUCATION

The background against which one fills in the story of workers' education in Germany is the public school education of the worker and his place in German society. Essentially, this position has not changed since Bismarck introduced free public education through the first six school years. The schools under the Kaiser were organized to provide a literature, but intellectually limited, highly disciplined working class. All the school reforms which have been introduced since have not changed this basic requirement.

The child of a German worker in 1947 still goes to school only until he is fourteen years old, and is then apprenticed at a few marks a month usually for three years, during which he receives one day's schooling a week in subjects closely related to his trade education. The chief educational influences which play upon him are those inherent in an apprentice relationship to a skilled workman -- at best a paternalism, at worst three years of enslavement and exploitation. The positive values which inhere in this relationship are a pride in craftsmanship and a deeply ingrained work-discipline.

The trade union and the labor party historically became the educational agencies which influenced the further development of the worker as a rational and cultural being.

When labor had something to say about the reorganization of the state under the Weimar constitution, it is interesting that the fundamental organization of the schools was not changed, but that the pattern of elementary school-apprenticeship-vocational school-union education program remained essentially what it was. To be sure, the elementary school was strengthened, and a somewhat broader educational program through the 8th school year was set up; the vocational school curriculum included citizenship, and the trade union schools were greatly extended and in many cases got direct and indirect state support. And the whole position of the unions and of organized workers in the state was set down and greatly strengthened by law, perhaps as the surest guarantee against the anti-labor laws which had previously existed.

So far as youth was concerned, the labor movement aimed to set up as extensive a welfare and protective program as possible and much of this was even extended and strengthened under the Nazis because they too saw in youth the strength and bulwark of the future state. The Nazis however completely wrecked the unions and with them their educational program which had been the one free, non-state controlled element in the education development of a young worker.

The problems of workers' education today begin in the public school but are felt in every kind of educational undertaking which is available to workers or which they organize.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

One serious charge of which the Nazis were guilty was a persistent breaking down of the educational opportunities for youth. Military service, air raid service, "voluntary" or "emergency" work, the year's labor service, etc. all represented interruptions or complete breaking off of school and apprenticeship. Today the general experience is that young people are not able to meet the former standards for the journeymen's examinations either in theoretical or practical subjects.

Many older Germans maintain their self-respect, and have, as one of the few positive values left to them in the post-war period, the knowledge that they are good craftsmen and disciplined (honest, industrious, thrifty, conscientious) citizens. This pride in craftsmanship tends to become almost an end in itself when the ultimate values are blurred, when all programs are frustrated.

The result of this combination of unquestioned tradition and of the general breakdown has been that both youth and older workers see as an immediate need the restoration of the means of becoming skilled craftsmen. The need has been raised to a national goal: what Germany needs are skilled and industrious workers; we are willing to work; give us the opportunity and we will somehow pull Germany back on its feet.

There is likewise a sizable proportion of serious minded youth who see that all Germany is poor, that terrific manual tasks need to be accomplished, who believe that at least the immediate solution lies in work and more work, and that the lesson to be drawn from this analysis is to become a skilled worker. This group of youth in the vocational schools asks for more hours of study, more advanced materials, evening courses, available shops where they can get experience not offered with one master.

This is one emphasis the German trade unions are giving to education right now. It is given a special direction by a number of temporary factors in the present economic situation. Veterans are coming back to work whose apprenticeship was interrupted or never really got under way. What is to be done with and for the 19 or 20 year old worker who wants to become a skilled worker? Veterans are back who have not had a chance to practice their skills for six or more years. How can they be given opportunities to catch up and refresh their training? Many women are now entering the labor market who have to reckon with the necessity of earning their own and their children's living permanently. Where can they be trained or re-trained for available jobs?

A whole new area of jobs has opened up with the occupation forces. On 30 June 1947, 288,000 indigenous persons were employed by the Military Government and military units in the U. S. Zone, or 6.1 percent of the total number employed in the Zone. About 20 percent of those employed were in clerical and professional occupations. Where and how can people study languages so as to make themselves eligible as employees of the Americans, British, French or Russians?

Vocational schools themselves were not always practical schools in Germany. Some of them do not have shops. Moreover, many of them were bombed out. In the past, some, but not many of them, held evening courses for adults.

The pressure from union members and from workers, generally coming from the sources and motivations indicated here, has put the unions actively into

the field of vocational education. Partly because they want to insure good training in the crafts, partly because they can reach unorganized or uninterested workers through vocational courses, partly because a real need exists which is not (and perhaps for the time being cannot) be met by the school; the unions themselves are spending a great deal of time and effort on strictly vocational courses.

The unions and military government ought to scrutinize this development from a number of important points of view: Is this vocational training meeting real needs of the labor market? Should and could public educational agencies -- vocational schools or Fachschulen or Volkshochschulen handle this kind of training as we or better? Granted that the unions are justified in using vocational training as a means of demonstrating the unions' keen interest in a pressing educational problem, should it continue to be an important union function? Can the unions show their interest in the whole problem in an advisor capacity to public vocational education and in school reform by working on local school boards and advisor committees?

#### YOUTH GROUPS

Trade unions have been included in the list of organizations which can set up their own youth groups. Their special interest in youth groups is in working youth whom they want to reach with a consciousness of their position in society as workers. Trade union youth groups necessarily carry many of the same program that other groups do because all young people are interested in sports, music, singing, dramatics, clubs, hikes, trips. But the special feature of these groups is to ground these young people in the significance and purpose of the labor movement and to prepare them for future leadership in this field.

Historically labor youth groups in Germany have sought to give their young people in some degree a general education, something which it was taken for granted they had missed as worker children. In conscious opposition to the position taken by society in general that culture was a monopoly of the educationally and financially privileged, labor wanted to awaken appetite for the arts and to feed that appetite. Before '33 there was a movement among workers to develop a workers' culture - labor dramatics, music, art, etc., as well as to make available to workers the classic German art forms.

While this movement rose from a real need and a real isolation of workers from the main intellectual stream in Germany, it tended to increase the isolation of workers and their hostility to other classes and groups. By accepting the universities as a monopoly of the upper classes and by offering a distinct working class culture to workers, labor tended to be cut off from other sections of society, and no intercourse between the many levels and interests of society, cultural and economic, was possible.

Today, the attempts which are being made in certain cities to establish a Kulturring or to organize a cultural section of the unions is in this tradition, stimulated by the dire need of hungry and weary people to have some genuine artistic pleasures: theatre, opera, music, lectures, etc.

But so far as youth was concerned, a good deal of the labor-cultural tradition was literally burned out. Union youth leaders today complain that young people do not know how to sing, and that song books with notes are almost unobtainable. Hitler Youth songs are banned. Hitler Youth in many cases took over folk songs or labor songs and gave them their own content, so that today they cannot be sung without the Hitler connotations. And the songs which were not useful to the Nazis were erased, so that young people do not know them.

More fundamental perhaps for the present situation is that youth is traditionless in every respect. They do not know what has been going on in the rest of the world; they have distorted ideas about Germany's economic capacity, its economic importance to the rest of the world, the capacity or motives of the rest of the world to aid Germany, etc. To begin working with young workers today means to begin at the very beginning whether it is on economic fundamentals, history, purpose and scope of the labor movement, the meaning of democratic practice, the role and potentialities of the individual, or the art of Germany and other countries.

This task is made infinitely more difficult because of acute shortages of such educational aids as books, charts, statistical tables, histories, reports of trade union conventions, novels, biographies, and references on other countries.

The age problem is acute in the labor movement too. Young teachers are almost unavailable. The generation from 20-35 is very thin in Germany. Hitler Youth training left young people mistrustful of the older generation generally.

The experience in compulsory youth groups under the Nazis has left them with a mistrust of organization. The politicalization of every question and every relationship under the Nazis has made political cynics, especially of the young, for whom the Nazi collapse meant complete disillusionment with the only ideals they knew or were permitted to have.

The older generation in the unions gives a great deal of lip-service to the need for young leadership. But all too often youth is cut off without a word or with its ideas only half expressed, because "you can't know what you're talking about -- you've never had an experience that counts". Or, "You don't know it, but your ideas are still Nazi ideas. Wait until you've had a chance to learn from us how to handle things in a democracy."

Because of the mutual distrust between old and young, youth leaders will have to come from youth.

The labor youth tradition before '33 called for schools lasting 3 to 5 months for young people where labor philosophy, economic and historical background and practical leadership techniques were combined. That kind of fairly thorough schooling is called for today more than ever.

But the organization of a residence school today presents difficulties not just in finding teachers and materials but in providing sufficient food, bedding, table ware, light bulbs, coal and note paper to make it bearable for people to come, to say nothing of creating an atmosphere which encourages learning. In some places, the problem is being approached boldly and aggressively and the difficulties somehow overcome. In others, the problems presented seem to be cumbersome to cope with and the unions have not been able to solve them.

The best solution which has been found is to set up short courses, some as short as a weekend or four days, others lasting as long as two to four weeks, where young people get at least a look at a different and bigger world than they have seen before, and where they can begin to understand what the tasks are which face them as young workers.

#### ADULT EDUCATION

The German Volkshochschule was a liberal answer to a German school system which limited workers to an elementary education. People as people had a right to become acquainted with the main stream of modern and classical thought. The very name of the German adult education institution -- Peoples' Colleges -- carries this idea of giving the people an opportunity to share in the higher intellectual pursuits which were in effect a monopoly of the privileged. The unions, especially in the Weimar Republic, supported the Volkshochschule movement and the labor parties were instrumental in seeing that the schools were supported by the city or state without necessarily becoming part of the public school system.

Out of these evening schools have been reorganized again since the occupation usually on much the same pattern as they had before Hitler. The courses they offer reflect the changed spirit of the present situation -- there is little or no response to courses offered in political and social subjects. Vocational courses on the other hand have to close their registration before the demand is satisfied. However, literature, art, and philosophy offerings get considerable response.

The need for specific functional training in the unions is so great that little energy or interest is left for more general educational interests. Where a close cooperation exists between the unions and the VHS, it usually results in the inclusion of more vocational subjects in the VHS curriculum. Some unions have reached an agreement with the VHS by which the evening school provides space and business management, and the unions provide teachers for specific trade union subjects and aid in recruiting students for all the classes. Most VHS have union representatives on the board of directors. In Hamburg, the union's teachers represent the unions in discussions of curriculum, management, student recruiting, etc.

There is still the possibility in Germany today of keeping open channels between groups and classes of the German population. One of these channels should be the Volkshochschule, partly because a tradition already exists here on which present developments can build; partly because the stark necessities of the present situation press for a coordination of all educational resources; partly because the VHS can provide a center for liberal educational

work with organized and unorganized adults around their special interests and needs.

But the VHS cannot do this alone. Like many other institutions, it takes its direction from the strongest forces within itself. If the trade unions do not actively participate on the Boards of Directors or do not place requests upon the VHS to satisfy their specific needs, the VHS will not be able to do much about meeting those needs. People in Germany today are too hungry, too uncomfortable, find travelling too great an effort, to respond readily to educational opportunities. Either the courses offered must have compelling interest, or an organization like the unions which wants its members to attend must work actively on promotion of the courses, or both. The way is open in most German cities for a close and fruitful cooperation between VHS and trade unions. The next step in most cases is up to the unions to utilize these facilities and opportunities.

#### WOMEN'S WORK

About 36 percent of the present German working force is women. Their percentage in the total population is higher - about 55 percent according to the census of 29 October 1946.

Many of the women who first went to work during the war have stayed on in the factories and offices because their husbands were killed or are still prisoners. Many more first faced the problem of self-support when they were expelled from the east under the Potsdam agreements to evacuate all Germans from the territories placed under the administration of other nations. Among the refugees from the east and the Sudetenland women and children are in the majority, although the sex ratio is essentially the same as among the population in Germany proper. The refugee groups include, however, a sizable proportion of old men. Many of the women are peasants. Their present employment in the cities is unskilled and semi-skilled labor.

The unions have not yet come to real grips with the problem. They need to think through the question of a trade union program in behalf of women. Is present protective legislation for women adequate? How rapidly can the union's program for equal pay for equal work be realized? What position should be taken to the women's demand for Saturday off for shopping and housekeeping? How does the high proportion of women on the labor market affect traditional trade union policy on wages, apprenticeship, retraining, weekly working hours, vacations, etc.?

And then, within the unions themselves, what can be done to activate women so that they begin to carry a greater share of democratic responsibility? What about the election of more women works councillors? What is the function of women's secretariats in the unions? Are special educational programs for women necessary? How can these programs bring women into union work?

Perhaps most important will be the question of the motivation with which the present predominantly male union leadership approaches the whole problem: do women represent a threat to the established male wage standards unless they are unionized? Or are women to be regarded as co-equal workers whose basic needs have not till now received just treatment and consideration?

In approaching this problem in Bavaria and Hesse, special women's departments were set up in the union with full time staff for special work with women. Both Hesse and Wuerttemberg-Baden union women have had Land-wide conferences for the formulation of a program on women's educational courses, and the Bremen unions have held one course for women. In Bremen, it was reported that it was very difficult to get women from the factory to go to school, and that most of the women who attended were union employees from the union offices.

Some girls participate in most of the youth leaders' courses, but the years of Hitler training when women's voices were not heard have left their imprints here. Girls do not participate vocally in these courses, and probably will not until school and youth group leaders find ways of bringing them into the discussion.

The unions have given directions, in works councillors elections, to include at least one woman as well as one youth representative in the council. It is difficult in most plants to find the woman who is willing to serve. Because they are overburdened with household worries, the women are very willing to leave this kind of work to the men and do not seek office.

That some women do not feel at home in the trade unions' predominantly male atmosphere is evidenced by their participation in the non-political women's committees which are organized all over the zone. The working women here say that they do not mind speaking up among other women, that they often receive only a perfunctory hearing in the unions, that the unions tend to give lip service to the special needs of women in the unions but do not set meetings at times when they can come, or sometimes do not get down to business on the special demands of women -- for instance, on the equal pay for equal work program.

The whole women's movement in Germany is about where the U.S. feminist movement was 30 years ago -- militant, self-conscious, still fighting for basic acceptance of women in the professions and for their equal rights in society. Add to this their official suppression for 12 years, their lack of recent political experience, and the ground is laid for a vigorous minority to lead a feminist movement. The labor movement tends to oppose this development throughout, to maintain that the unions are the only organization ready and able to deal effectively with problems of working women. So far as an outsider can determine there is no reason why these two movements should not complement one another and work closely together -- the women's organizations supporting union demands for working women; working women aiding middle class and professional women in their struggle for equal legal rights. It is another avenue through which the labor movement and a section of the community interested in social progress could join forces.

The present outlook seems to speak against this cooperative development. But unless the unions are able to develop techniques of working with and for their women members on a basis closely related to their psychological and physical needs, they will not have succeeded in reaching the majority of the working population.

#### TRAINING UNION LEADERS

After the collapse, trade union leadership mostly fell into the hands of the men who had been in office before '33. This was inevitable and occurred whether officers were elected or appointed. No one else was prepared to go into the work. But most of these men are beyond 50, many of them beyond 60. Within five years the unions are likely to face a shortage of adequate leadership unless intensive training is undertaken at once.

Union office however is not popular. Men who are looking for security do not willingly take on a job which may not last for more than the elected year or two. No extra rations are given union leaders although most of them work a 12 to 16 hour day, and are subject to considerable intellectual and physical strain. Under the present circumstances when some of the normal union functions particularly wage negotiations, are restricted, the job can be a thankless one as well.

In a word, training for union office calls for a high degree of idealism, personal sacrifice, understanding of the broad scope of the movement, skill in dealing with thousands of practical details, knowledge of law and of trade union practice, bold attack on problems, willingness to carry responsibility in a thankless and frustrating situation.

A good deal of this training has to be given on the job. Younger men have to be brought into the union offices in a kind of apprenticeship to the experienced leaders. But this normal learning by example and practice, needs to be supplemented by technical schooling in order to speed up the process.

New approaches to problems come from exchange of experience and from the stimulation of group consideration of common problems. A certain stretch of unbroken time and a degree of isolation from daily pressures can produce the objectivity for a whole new attack upon a situation.

Unions today are different structurally and in their political allegiance from those of '33. It is not accidental that when the unions reorganized, they formed into large industrial unions in all the zones working out 14 to 18 large classifications of trades and industries with common problems and needs. Many of the heads or business agents of the unions have not previously worked in the trades they are now administering. Whereas the unions before '33 were organized along political lines and were grouped in four main federations, the unions today in the British and American Zones include all political and religious affiliations.

Military Government law on works councils is written so as to give the unions more responsibility for handling plant problems and controlling conditions in a given industry than they had under the Weimar law. But the Military Government law calls for a different kind of trade union policy in relation to works councils than was known before and for working out new techniques of union-council relationships. Military Government officers are often disappointed that the unions do not show more initiative in exploiting the possibilities for freer action and closer control which the law gives them both explicitly and implicitly.

Many factors work against achieving success here. Chief among them are a shortage of leadership personnel to handle the day to day problems; the tradition in which a great deal of the present leadership grew up; the unavailability of many young new leaders; the shortness of time since the unions were reorganized; uncertainty about the whole economic situation in Germany; uncertainty upon the part of the unions as to the over-all plans which the occupation forces have for Germany; lack of time and opportunity for Military Government and union leaders to come to a common understanding of the problems which face the unions; a desire on the part of Military Government to let the Germans work out their own salvation within the framework of Allied Control Council law. Favorable conditions for this kind of work are not easy to create. But these questions must be dealt with if the unions are not to face a deep crisis within the next few years. With the reestablishment of the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt, an earnest attempt has been made by the unions of all four zones to find gifted, intelligent, active young trade unionists for the two semester course. The advisory committee of the Academy on its part has carefully worked out a broad program of study aimed at giving Academy students, as future labor leaders, a basic education in economics, history, sociology, labor problems, law and political science. On this foundation, coupled with practical experience in the unions and public agencies dealing with labor, leadership can develop.

The Hamburg unions have also worked out a detailed plan with the University of Hamburg for the establishment of an Academy there. A School of Economics has been reestablished at Dusseldorf.

A careful selection of students combined with practical administration of the Academies in the interests of future union leadership can provide a sound core of well-grounded, experienced labor leadership in the age group which the unions so desperately need.

For the present, the first ranks of labor leadership need opportunities for conferences and schooling where they can attack fundamental problems of labor strategy and purpose such as were suggested above.

The lower ranks of union leadership as represented by works councillors, youth leaders, local union officers, etc. are the source from which top leadership normally comes. Schools for these groups are under way or have been planned in all the Laender. Some of the courses are conducted by individual

unions, though only one union, the railroad workers, so far has its own school buildings. Most of the courses are organized by the labor federation for all union officers. The Bavarian unions have been able to set up a residence school at Berneck for training works councillors. Youth leadership schools have been discussed in a previous section. The Hesse unions will shortly open a school for all ranks of local union officers.

Nearly all local federations have some kind of works councillor training or discussion groups. Most of these are taken up with the duties of the councillor in the shop, the laws he has to administer, the grievances he has to handle, etc. Except at the residence schools where there is time for more thorough discussions, there is little opportunity for consideration of the fundamental problems of the Works Council Law, and of the councillors' relation to the unions.

### 3. A DESCRIPTION OF WORKERS' EDUCATION TODAY

#### Bavaria

1. Youth Work: A program for Bavaria was drawn up by the Land Youth Committee of the unions which includes points on general school reform; inclusion of trade union materials in public school curricula; reform of the apprenticeship system, including supervision of conditions by the unions; cooperation with the Volkshochschulen as a means of making up for the low educational standards of the last few years; special attention to work and apprentice problems of girls; and improvement of recreational facilities for youth.

Nuremberg (Leonard Burger). Trade union youth in Nuremberg in December 1945 drew up a program for guiding their activities. Jugendräte have been organized in plants where a substantial number of young people are employed, and youth representatives sit on the works council (Betriebsrat). Discussions and lectures for youth are held in the plants. During the summer of 1946, several camps were organized by the unions and paid for by management. In the summer of 1947, the plan is to accommodate 3,000 children in camps, the union to bear part of the cost. The youth groups are working closely with the district youth committee representing youth organizations of all kinds, and cooperating with the Army GYI groups.

Munich (Ludwig Koch, Willi Gingold). A strong emphasis on Jugendräte in the plants; fortnightly educational meetings on plant time, usually Wednesday afternoons; representation of youth on the Betriebsrat.

Youth Groups: Youth groups are organized in neighborhoods with trade union youth leaders who have received some training at one of the above schools. The groups hold informal discussions, bring in outside speakers when they can, and plan recreational evenings, musicals, and hikes.

Trade union youth is active in the Munich central youth committee which has just been given the use of the former SS recreation home at Suedelfeld. The unions have the use of this home one week a month for the four summer months and are running youth leadership schools there with about 30 students per course. The session which began on 11 May covered the following subjects:

Social legislation and social insurance;  
How modern youth thinks; a philosophy for this generation;  
Government; questions on the constitution;  
Trade unionism, including international labor movements;  
Parliamentary procedure; student self-government;  
Current events;  
Trade union youth groups; how to plan an evening program, recreation, general program;  
Labor law; wage and contract problems, child labor, works councils, trade unions and the state;  
The job of the youth councillor in the plant.

The week's course also included singing, folk dancing, group games, and free recreation periods.

Raintalerhof (Director, Josef Kurth). Bavarian trade union youth school. Up to 17 courses with 30 students each. Courses run 14 days. Two part time teachers as well as a number of special lecturers from the unions. The subjects handled in a typical course in September 1946 were: Economics, History of the Labor Movement, Parliamentary Procedure, German, Structure and Function of the Unions, Structure and Function of the Youth Section, Social Insurance, Wage and Contract Problems, Written Work in Wage and Contract Problems, Task of a Youth Leader, Arithmetic, How to Plan an Evening Youth Group Meeting, How to Lead a Discussion, Labor Law, Sociology of Organization, State Administration, Social Significance of Failure, Labor Administration.

The curriculum includes also house and garden work in the school, folk dancing, and singing, discussion evenings, special lectures on German resources after the war, hikes and a good deal of practical work in written German, practical arithmetic, correspondence, and student self-government.

The school has a small library of its own largely contributed by the teachers and including a small gift of about 25 books from the Swiss unions. Teaching materials, books, notebooks, etc. are almost entirely lacking. Mr. Kurth has drawn up some charts which he uses as visual teaching materials.

2. Trade Union Education: Woodworkers union holds some courses in vocational subjects. The goal is to give youth some of the fundamentals which were lost in the Nazi period and during the war.

Railroads: The Reichsbahn established a school before 1933. In addition to vocational subjects, trade union questions are discussed.

In Hammersbach, the national union have their own school. Each Land uses it in turn for a two weeks' course. Each Land organization supplies its own school director, works out its own curriculum, and gets its own teachers.

Union of Public Workers: Because youth is so sceptical about unions, and so in need of vocational training, the union organized an apprentice school at the street car company. Apprentices receive education in trade unionism and democracy as well as in vocational subjects. The project is not so successful as it might have been because it is difficult to get the necessary materials and to find teachers. The city operates a 6 months school for city civil servants. The teacher is an older, experienced trade unionist. It is very important to the unions that the city administrators who have to deal with the unions should understand the trade union point of view.

Agricultural Workers: Because the villages are such a distance apart and so hard to get to, the union used to take a movie or illustrated lecture from village to village. That is no longer possible. Present efforts are concentrated on training dairy workers and the union is now organizing such a school.

Works Councillor's School: Bernock, near Bayreuth. Four courses, two weeks long each have been held for 30 students. The former Bavarian Kultusminister Fendt is Director of the school. The Land trade union leaders also give lectures there. It is a long distance from Munich and raises problems about getting students there from the south.

3. Women's Work: The women's division has had two groups for women - one is a follow-up for the women who have taken part in the two women's courses at Raintalhof; the other is a group of women from the metal workers union. They are under the leadership of Frau Strohn.

4. Radio: The unions have a 15 minute period per week. The unions are not convinced that it is a very valuable means of work since they feel that most of their members no longer have radios. The women said that the Women's Hour on the radio is not available to them. Consultation with Frau Ilse Weitsch at Radio Muenchen indicated that she and others would be willing to work with the unions on improving the quality of their programs and that if they were willing to produce a variety of programs rather than simply lectures that it might very well be possible to give them more time. The Frauenfunk would also be glad to work with the women on timely programs, interviews with leaders, youth, etc.

5. Volkshochschule: The unions offered a course with Ministerialrat Karl Fitting as teacher. Only a few students registered. Both the unions and the Volkshochschule are willing to continue however to work in a close relationship.

6. Vocational Schools: Karl Fitting is giving a course to students studying for their examination as vocational school teachers on trade union questions. The response in the beginning was poor, but has developed now into a keen interest on the part of a large number of the group.

7. Refugees: Frau Vogel of the women's division herself lives in a refugee camp and is the trade union representative on a committee to improve conditions of refugee camps. Under the present crowded conditions, poor food, lack of common rooms, etc., it is impossible to undertake formal educational

work. She does however keep closely in touch with the people and is helping them learn how to collect facts which can be used in arguing their case. The union is asking in behalf of these people that they have elected camp council and that community kitchens and laundries be organized as a means of improving conditions for the women there, and also as a means of bringing the people together on cooperative projects for the common good. In one of the camps, a small library was available.

8. Cultural Work: Attempts to have musical groups, amateur dramatics, movies, etc., have all failed because no materials were available. There is, for instance, no one labor songbook available with notes in it. So far they have not been able to get hold of the words for a speaking choir or a play. Movie projectors are not to be had.

Regensburg (and surrounding towns: Amberg, Passau, Weiden, Burglengenfeld, Neumarkt, Flattling, Deggendorf, Geislhöering, Abensberg).

Vocational training for veterans who have not finished their apprenticeship, and for further training or retraining of other young adults. Courses are given for machine tool makers, mechanics, electricians, carpenters, bricklayers and lathe operators. A whole Volkshochschule for office work and languages has been established in Regensburg with branches in most of the other cities and towns, in which they teach English, French, Spanish, and Russian in beginning and advanced courses, bookkeeping for beginners and advanced, industry economics and correspondence, business arithmetic, business English, accounting, general office work, stenography. For all these courses they give a certificate. Fees are charged for the courses at the rate of 50 - 75 Pfg. per lesson; teachers are paid in regular fee of RM. 6 per hour. Their financial statement shows that they took in in 1946 a total of over RM 106,000 and had a profit of over RM 28,000. This report covers Regensburg and its various branches as listed above.

The teachers and directors insisted that illustrative material particularly in the language courses included trade union reading matter and that trade union problems were freely discussed. The courses have apparently served the purpose of bringing a good many people to the trade unions who had had no interest before or who were actually hostile.

#### MURITTEMBERG-B.DEN

1. Youth Work: Secretary Bernhard.

The chief activity consists in general trade union youth meetings, celebrations, trips, etc. Two school periods were held in December for 22 students each. The subjects discussed were history and function of the trade unions, labor and social legislation and economic questions. Trade union youth participates in a city-wide Youth Parliament in which the members handle their own affairs and conduct their educational work on their own initiative.

The Office Workers Union has its own youth group under the direction of Otto Wallenmaier, which has a more systematic education program than the others. Meetings each week take up trade union educational questions and visiting speakers are brought into the meetings.

In the small town of Gaildorf, trade union youth has set up their own dramatics group which gave a number of performances during the winter in Gaildorf and Backnang and Murrhardt, and made a trip to Stuttgart for a special performance. This group has also had a number of discussions on Socialism, capitalism, militarism, Christianity, etc. Special speakers have appeared on Planned Economy vs. Free Enterprise; Christianity and Socialism, etc.

2. Woman's Work: A conference was held in which 73 women participated. Willi Endress, secretary to the President, has charge of women's work. Klara Doghring is the most active woman in the unions. A great many women are active as volunteers in the Arbeiterwohlfahrt, (Stuttgart, director Johann Mayer), which runs courses for training its helpers in kindergartens, health centers, children's camps, etc. It is planned to set up a real training center for volunteers under direction of the Land office.

3. Trade Union Education: The Railroad Union participates in the railroad vocational school but chiefly in promoting the school and its vocational aims. A Land Trade Union School is planned. A building is available in Feuerbach but nothing has been done to put it in shape. It is hoped to have it ready for fall. Students were recruited for the Akademie in Frankfurt.

4. Cultural Work: The unions have organized a Kulturring (Secretary, Widmann) which has five sections, not all of which are functioning yet: 1. A theatre ring, which offers tickets or special performances of opera and theatre at cheaper prices for the trade union members; 2. A concert ring which works on the same principle; 3. A film ring which gives performances of available American pictures at cheap prices in towns where no other movie facilities are available. They have three movie projectors which they got through the plant that makes them, and take their movies to outlying centers. A plan is being worked out now for very cheap Saturday afternoon movies for apprentices and other youth; 4. A lecture which is to be part of this project has been started with a gift of 500 volumes by the Swiss unions. 5. A travel and vacation ring plans, as soon as travel is easier, to provide tours and trips at cheaper prices for trade union members and groups. Last year a total of 120,000 individual tickets were purchased for Kulturring events. This section of the union carries itself financially.

5. Volkshochschule: The director, Walter, is willing and anxious to work more closely with the unions. A course which was offered in the fall had too few registrations to carry it through. He would welcome suggestions from the unions and closer cooperation. The Office Workers Union under Ehrhardt wants to get work at once on a plan for fall.

6. Vocational Schools: The general youth program of a number of unions, particularly of the metal workers calls for closer cooperation between the advisory committees of the trade schools and the trade unions. Gloeckler, assistant superintendent of trade schools in charge of handwork trades, says that he is ready to begin work to this end. He and the unions also agree on establishing student councils which should work for closer cooperation between teacher and student, and which the unions see as a kind of grievance committee for the students.

The unions are also asking for material on trade unions to be included in the curriculum. Gloeckler points to the need for re-training vocational school teachers if the curriculum is to be enlarged particularly in the direction of the inclusion of more social studies. Vocational schools in Stuttgart were badly damaged by bombing, are operating as a rule only half of the required number of hours, have no books or other school materials.

Radio: Frau von Feldmann, in charge of women's broadcast, has used a number of trade unionists and youth leaders on her programs and is anxious to work further in this direction. Karl Kienze, in charge of Schulfunk, would be glad to be helpful either through his own programs or in general advice on use of radio.

Bremen

#### 1. Youth work: Secretary: Seiler

The general plan is to have one central group of trade union youth which meets weekly or oftener at the Youth Home. The secretary is opposed to building individual union youth groups because he feels it will tend to divide instead of bring youth together. His one group has about 80 active members. The program includes schooling at the Youth Home near Bremen, regular discussion evenings, outside speakers on trade union subjects, hikes, music, and dramatics. The group is not growing very rapidly.

Recently a group for young electricians was organized whose activity has proven the most popular. The group has undertaken the wiring of the Youth Home. The Youth Home is a central building open to all Bremen youth groups, under the direction of a young man named Boehrnesen. Edwin Ladd of ERA works closely with Boehrnesen, and Hans Werninghoff of the Jugendamt is active in leadership training and social work for youth. Trade union youth and Kinderfreunde joined with all other youth groups in running a training camp for camp leaders. The training session lasted four days at the Kinderfreunde camp, under the direction of Hans Werninghoff and Annemarie Mevissen and with the help of several public school teachers. The camp held no formal lectures, but had discussions of the problems of setting up programs, building a cooperative group, establishing camp discipline, etc. out of the problems which arose in the training camp. These were of very fundamental and serious nature because the

groups represented such widely differing philosophies from an extreme right wing group to the trade union and socialist youth groups. The leadership offered here worked boldly and frankly with the problems presented by the groups themselves and achieved the finest and soundest educational work I saw anywhere.

2. Trade Union Education: Printing Trades. Special youth groups for vocational courses and for trade union discussions. This union has held works councillor courses during the winter for its own councillors in labor law and safety, compensation and insurance questions. Single lectures have been held for works councillors and members, in industry economics. Women from the union have been sent to Bielefeld to the courses given there for trade union women, in labor law and welfare problems.

Woodworkers: This union is setting up its own vocational classes using space given by the trade school for evening classes.

School: The unions ran three courses at Bookholzberg each lasting 5 days with 35 students. The course included labor law, safety and health, protective legislation for youth and child labor laws; women and the trade unions. The youth section ran a course at Huchding for youth leaders which lasted 8 days and had 25 students. Subjects discussed were: Youth and its Chosen Trade, Trade Union and International Organization, Activity in the Plant, Industry Economics, Basic Economic Problems.

3. Vocational Schools: Schulze, head of the unions, is of the opinion that the union's interest in apprenticeship is in maintaining the contract as a work relationship rather than an educational one, and that the union's function is to guard against exploitation of the apprentice as a worker. The whole school system of Bremen is in process of reorganization and fundamental questions of school reform, not only the question of the 9th school year, are up for discussion. Senator Paulmann, Social Democrat, is the Senator for education and is actively participating in the discussions in terms of an enriched vocational school curriculum in social sciences. The youth groups themselves are asking the unions to let the youth secretary have time enough to go into the apprentice work places to check on the educational content and sound work relationships there.

4. Volkshochschulen: The plan for the fall is that the Volkshochschule will concentrate all adult education work under its direction and that the unions will furnish the teachers for their own courses, letting the Volkshochschule find rooms, register students, handle problems of light and heat, payment of teachers, etc. When at the suggestion of the unions, a number of vocational courses were added, attendance climbed sharply.

## Hamburg

Education Director: Saalfeld, Ernst Rathlov. The former educational director for the Hamburg unions is now educational director for all unions in the British Zone. He had several months in England observing workers' and adult education there and says that he learned a great deal from the experience.

1. Youth Work: The individual unions have their own youth groups which are then drawn together for general trade union youth celebrations, festivals, mass meetings, etc. Youth work is planned and announced on a monthly basis in small leaflets distributed through the plants. A typical month program for youth in the printing trades runs as follows: 1. Trade union problems discussion. 2. Lecture entitled "Who was Edison?". 3. What trades are combined in the union? 4. Sonnenwendfeier. 5. Women in our Industry. In this same month courses were started in photography and commercial illustration. Besides this, this union also planned trips and hikes.

A general youth group for those not included in separate union groups had the following program in January: 1. An illustrated lecture entitled "A Year has passed". 2. Table Tennis and Dancing. 3. An evening of serious and humorous readings. 4. A discussion of boy and girl relationship in the trade union. 5. "Dances of Yesterday and Today", discussion and dances for everybody. 6. Discussion evening to criticize the January program and to make suggestions for February. 7. A youth meeting "Tasks of the Trade Union" with Kummernuss, head of the Hamburg unions, as speaker. The youth work has been headed up in an organization of the "Free Trade Union Youth Committee" which holds weekend courses, short institutes, and courses in the trade union school for youth, as well as running regular Sunday night meetings and recreation evenings at the trade union youth home. The attendance at these meetings has risen to 2000 youth.

In the basic statement of purpose accepted by the unions as a guide to their youth work, special attention is drawn to the fact that youth today is not interested in political organization as such, and that consequently trade union youth work is of special importance because the unions do have the specific task of bringing youth to the realization that economic and social conditions are the key to the solution of the problems of working people and that the unions have the responsibility of formulating these demands to the political parties and of giving youth a general education in citizenship.

Trade union youth is represented in the general Hamburg youth organizations and through that committee, participates in Hamburg official youth committees, particularly in the city welfare committee. They also have the use of the city youth centers, youth home, etc.

2. Vocational Education: The unions are represented on the Advisory Committee and trade committees organized around the trade schools (a committee for each trade is composed of representatives of the employers' associations, the trade union, and the school directors). The unions select their own

representatives in these committees. It has been possible to get the school lunch program extended to include all apprentices every day. Lunches are served at designated kitchens in all districts of the city, and the apprentices have the right to go to these kitchens to get their meal.

The trade unions have also won the right to hold meetings for apprentices in the factories where they are employed.

3. Volkshochschulen: The unions are one of the most important groups in the organization and administration of the VHS. The unions wish to do their own educational work in training their own leaders and in all the educational work which pertains directly to union functions: labor law, collective bargaining, etc. But in all matters of general education for workers, and for all subjects including vocational subjects, the unions send their members to the VHS.

In subjects which are of particular concern to the union, the VHS takes the teachers suggested by the unions. These teachers act as union representatives in all matters pertaining to organization of the school: curriculum fees, payment of teachers, democratic organization of the students and the school management. In return the unions recruit actively for the VHS courses. In addition to the evening courses, the VHS home is used for special weekend or week courses.

4. Trade Union Education: The unions have set up their own school for training their own leaders. Last winter, in spite of the extreme cold and hunger more than 1200 persons signed up for the courses in works councillor duties, labor law, trade union structure and function. Registrations had to be closed because they could get no more space or teachers, but every course was given in three to five sections in response to the demands. In the summer, the number of participants is about 500. The plans for the fall call for advanced courses for persons who completed courses in the winter and summer. A student was sent from Hamburg to the Akademie in Frankfurt and another to the Akademie in Dusseldorf. A number of courses have been held in the vicinity of Hannover by special industrial unions for their own leadership training.

5. Academy for Social Economy: The University of Hamburg, the unions and the Co-ops have drawn up detailed plans for an offer to gifted labor students a general knowledge of historical, legal, economic and social problems on the college level, as preparation for taking over jobs in the unions or in public life. Expenses of the Academy are to be borne by the city, the unions and the cooperatives. The Senator for Education is the chairman of the Board of Directors. The school term will be one year. The faculty will include full time and part time teachers and a school director. The work of the first semester will be chiefly theoretical. In the second semester each student will be expected to do about 100 hours of practical work in his special field of interest. The subjects to be studied (a precise roster of subjects has been worked out) includes: economic theory, finance and statistics, industry economics, sociology, government, politics, history, social economy, legal

theory and labor law, problems of industrial planning, and community economics. It is planned to offer a second year of study including, in addition to the above subjects, languages so that some students who are especially gifted may go on to full university study. Rathlov, who is education director for the British Zone and who has been thus responsible for the Bremen unions, would be willing to go to Bremen on invitation of either Manpower Division or the Bremen unions, or both, to discuss education programs there.

#### Hesse, Frankfurt

##### 1. Youth Work: Masseling, Scheugenpflug

Youth work is organized by industrial unions and in a general trade union youth group. The unions are participating in the Frankfurt central youth committee which appears however to be less active than in most cities.

School: Frankfurt runs a youth leaders school at Oberreifenberg in the Taunus which can handle about 60 people at one time. The program for the work of 1 June 1947 handled by guest teachers from the unions included: History of the trade unions; Tasks of the youth representative on the works council; Tasks of the trade union in the government and in industry; Laws for the protection of youth; Juvenile delinquency; How to run a meeting and how to participate in a discussion; Basic philosophy in our present society.

#### Public Workers Union Youth Group (Koenig)

A month's program for this youth group, which meets at the Trade Union House, includes: 1. Discussion about the purpose and goals of trade unions; 2. Musical evening; 3. Speaker on "Capitalism and Socialism"; 4. Speaker on structure and function of a city government. The group participates in the Trade Union Youth Committee and runs its own vocational classes in stenograph bookkeeping, and typewriting.

2. Trade Union Education: Railroad Union has been conducting systematic training courses for works councillors. This union is responsible for the vocational school run by the railroads and, in addition, runs courses which are preparatory to acceptance at the vocational school.

Building Trades have run a series of weekend courses in Hesse for 700 union officers and plan to handle about 200 more.

Free Professions are sponsoring tests for musicians. Judges of the tests are representatives of the city opera and orchestra. They are endeavoring to sponsor classes for artists, commercial illustrators, and the like, but are not able to do much because of the shortage in canvas, brushes, paints, etc.

Works Councillor Training: Every Tuesday afternoon a meeting of works councillors is held under the direction of the Legal Advisory Bureau (Wendisch). Attendance is irregular and represents only a small percentage of the works councillors. The presentation is highly technical and specialized.

3. Volkshochschule (Frau Epstein). Frankfurt's VHS is one of the oldest in Germany and has developed its own educational system which is chiefly characterized by holding lectures in most of the sections of the city -- 19 separate locations this spring, 23 in fall. The trade unions have always participated in the administration of the VHS and used to contribute a per capita tax which aggregated to about 25,000 RM per year to the school. They now have five members on the Executive Committee but their active participation is very slight. The VHS tickets and announcements are always sent to the unions but distribution is limited to the Gewerkschaftshaus itself instead of being distributed through the plants or industrial unions. Interest in the cultural activities of the VHS is very slight.

#### Land Hesse

1. Youth Work: The central trade unions sponsor youth groups in each district and maintain a youth training school at Emmerhausenmuehle available to all the districts in the Land. A 12 day course held there for youth from Friedberg included discussions on: Trade Unionism, Art, Law, Child Labor Law, Social Legislation, Psychology of Youth in Relation to Vocational Guidance, Government, Hygiene, Economics and Technology, Tasks and Goals of Trade Union Youth; as well as groups and discussion in singing, music, arts and crafts, sports, football, group games, dramatics, speaking choir.

Kassel has had a series of training periods for trade union youth which has reached 1200 students in attendance at 2 weeks courses. They also participated in a general youth training program for summer camps, and are now operating a trade union youth summer camp.

Darmstadt. The unions have organized their own Kulturbund which is one of the important groups in the Volkshochschule. Apprentices may join the Kulturbund for 50 Pfg per month and are entitled to take courses offered in vocational subjects in office work, electricity, advertising, German, economics, how to run a meeting, printing trades, preparation for salesmanship, etc. Membership in the Kulturbund also means cheaper movie and theatre tickets and admission to concerts run by the Bund. The Bund has more than met expenses during the past year.

Works Councillor Courses: An eight weeks course was given which took the form of organizing the students into a Council, holding elections, setting up the Council, handling a variety of typical problems, etc. The students asked for an extension of the course.

Cooperation with the Hochschule: A group of 150 students have asked the unions to prepare and offer a course in trade unionism. Several students are doing practical work in the unions.

Friedberg. The youth secretary, Templemayer, has a regular weekly forum for trade union youth and is contemplating setting up his own classes in other subjects since the Volkshochschule there is "too high" for the interests of the trade unionists.

Hanau. The Volkshochschule is in the hands of a worker and trade unionist Schmidt, who gets some assistance from the city and is running courses for about 600 students. He gets little direct support from the unions in terms of helping with recruiting or financial support. Schmidt would like to establish an Academy for Adult Education in Land Hesse and is trying to get the use of a building for its establishment. He believes if adult education leaders and teachers could be trained that the number of trained workers available for a city like Hanau would enable them to run a much more successful school with extension services in the surrounding villages.

Land School at Oberursel. The Land trade unions are putting a school at Oberursel into shape to open this summer. Richter, President of the Land Unions, is chiefly responsible for the preparations and plans to have courses for trade union functionaries: union treasurers, labor judges in the labor courts, labor representatives in the insurance societies, youth leaders, women, etc.

Academy of Labor. Director, Franz Josef Furtwaengler. The Academy is a national institution, and in its 65 students represents all four zones and most of the industrial unions. About 35 students live in the school home in Frankfurt; the others live close enough to the city to commute every day. The Academy is set up on its old administrative basis as a part of the University of Frankfurt. It is financed, as is the University, by the city of Frankfurt and Land Hesse. The unions, which send students there, finance the living expenses of their representatives. The advisory committee of the academy represents trade union leaders from all four zones. Courses are divided into six main groups: Economics, Law, Government and Sociology, Social Economy, Employer-Employee Relations, and History. In addition, single lectures are given in psychology, technology, statistics, population questions, currency reform, agriculture, foreign labor movements, political parties, press and radio, etc. Practical voluntary work is offered to students after the first three months in trade unions, insurance institutions, employment offices, labor courts, newspapers and city government.

The teachers are for the most part young men and women who are assistants at the university. The student body has an average age of less than 30 and takes active part in the discussions following the lectures. The total impression is one of practical and vigorous participation on the part of teachers, students and directors in the planning and execution of the Academy program. The director feels that the number of woman students can be considerably increased in another year.

#### Berlin: (Fugger, Baum)

1. The trade unions in the city work in close cooperation with the education department of the FLGB for the zone, using many of the same teaching materials and plans.

A staff of about 38 persons, one for each union and for each section of the city, is employed full time on educational work. Classes are held for union leaders and for works' councillors along a well worked out outline which aims to handle the same material each week in each section of the city.

The unions have a daily newspaper and a specialist in radio.

Teaching outlines have been prepared and printed for general distribution on: Trade Unions and Protective Legislation; Youth and Works Councils; the Works Council Law; Works Council Elections; Trade Unions and Youth; Tasks of the Works Councillor; Trade Unions and Social Legislation; Equal Pay for Equal Work; Hints for Speakers and Discussion Leaders; Industrial Social Work with Severely Crippled Workers, etc.

Two trade union schools, at Werlsee and at Buch, serve the Berlin unions. The former ADGB school at Bernau has been reopened as a school for the whole East Zone and is used by the Berlin unions too. The East Zone has 12 other trade union schools.

## 2. Volkshochschulen

The unions work closely with the Berlin Volkshochschulen by recruiting their members for special economics and social problems courses. The trade unions are one of the affiliated organizations in each district executive committee of the Volkshochschule. They are however planning as soon as they are able to do so to set up their own Volkshochschule.

Individual school directors in the American Sector report that their courses in social problems had so few registrations that they were unable to hold them, and that a plan is now being worked out by which the central office for Berlin Volkshochschulen will hold certain courses in central locations which will welcome students from all over the city.

## 3. Universities

The trade unions recognize their chief task as that of preparing for socialization of industry and the authorities of the East Zone and of Berlin have used every means to open the universities and technical schools to the sons and daughters of workers so that the technical skill for administration and direction of German industry will be available. In this connection they feel that the next five years are the critical years and that the unions and the technicians must be ready within that time to take on this new responsibility.

## 4. AN EVALUATION

1. By and large, labor education work in Germany today lacks plan. No one is in charge of union educational work in any Land in the American Zone. By contrast, Rathlov of Hamburg has been appointed to head up education work for the British Zone unions, and the Hamburg unions have an education director. This, of course, is not the sole explanation for the more effective trade union educational work in Hamburg, but it has a great deal to do with it.

Youth work in contrast is headed up in each Land by a Youth Secretary and in some places, notably Bavaria, has a well worked out program of aims and methods.

The unions could occupy a pivotal position in Germany today as well as in the future. It is of decisive importance that the education program be geared to the total trade union program, and that it be so integrated with practical union problems and program that it can serve to help the unions in working out of their present programmatic crisis.

2. Experienced teachers are very rare. Most of the teaching is being done by trade unionists who unquestionably know their fields of work but who do not have the time to work out special methods of presentation, and who for the most part have had no special training as adult teachers. The consequence is that a good deal of teaching is downright dull or not adjusted to the interests and background of the students.

Darmstadt was one of the few places I found where the unions had tried to use some other method than lectures. The Volkshochschulen are occasionally organizing discussion groups which tend, however, to be question and answer sessions rather than a genuine meeting of minds.

The concept of a discussion group in the American sense is almost unknown in Germany. The German rather tends to "take a position" in relation to a problem (eine Stellungnahme) and to defend that position. He is a successful group participant to the degree that he can maintain his position from beginning to end. This is a natural result of the traditional class and group isolation which characterized pre-1933 Germany. Today, when the old trade unionists themselves are for the most part no longer dogmatic Marxists and when youth is completely uncertain about its philosophy, the American discussion method may have very positive values. One boy in Stuttgart said at the end of an educational evening: "It is very hard for present day youth to speak in a meeting, because we never know whether we have taken the right position." If boys like this could feel that it is not necessary to take the right position, but rather to arrive at a position as a result of discussion, his whole inner security would be strengthened and the discussions could serve a positive purpose for them.

But discussion group leading is a skilled technique in itself. A group of youth leaders around Hans Warminghoff in Bremen used this method however with great skill and success in the camp leaders training session. The writings of Edward Weitsch before 1933 are particularly helpful in terms of discussion methods with adult working-class Germans. Weitsch is once again publishing his "Freie Volksbildung". A group around former Kultusminister Grimme and Heinrich Lotze in Hannover are editing another magazine "Denkendes Volk" which discussed problems of adult education method and resources.

Schmidt, the director of the VHS in Hanau, has tentative plans for an Akademie der Volksbildung which would be a training center for teachers and directors of adult education projects.

Just because educational resources in terms both of teachers and materials are so scarce, it is important to find means of exchanging experience on teaching methods, and of exchanging and pooling the few available materials: discussion outlines, visual aids, films, charts, books and bibliography.

What the Americans call "functional education" may also be a useful approach. We mean giving an educational content to normal union functions; using the legislative committee of a union not just as a machine for organizing union pressure in behalf of a new law, but acquainting the committee members with the field of labor law so that they can work in perspective, and so that their immediate tasks assume more than immediate significance. In the American union set up this is one of the most effective education methods. In Germany, where the unions have little direct contact with their rank and file membership, it would mean analyzing the possibilities of using shop meetings; works councillors quarterly report meetings; using, for instance, the Jugendraete meetings not just to hear grievances, but for some discussion of grievance procedure, plant economics, etc. Conscious attention to this method might give the unions more access to their membership and to the works councillors.

With the present lack of dramatic, musical and general recreational materials, youth leaders with a little training and guidance could begin to help youth groups develop their own plays and songs.

These methods all have the great advantage of calling for participation of the group member, the rank and file union member, the student as well as the teacher in the educational process -- an important consideration with a people who have had 12 intensive years of the leadership principle.

3. Community resources are not great. Libraries hardly exist. Space is at a premium. Newspapers are not numerous. Heat and food have become the central elements in life. A civilized people have been reduced to a rather primitive level for the maintenance of life. Under these circumstances, it is not possible to talk about the conditions one would like to have or the conditions which once existed without paralyzing every effort to work in the present.

Unless every positive element in the present situation is used, the possibility of building a constructive movement is very dim indeed. Certain community resources, however, are available and could be used more than they are. Among these are the Volkshochschule, the radio, and the libraries where they are available. The American Information Centers could be made more useful than they now are to worker's groups if some American guidance were given to the local unions on the labor material available there, such as lists of books and magazines in various fields. Union members who read English could digest and pass on this material in discussion groups, lectures, and through the labor press.

7. University extension services, as they are developed either in England or the United States, are not part of the German tradition and do not fit into the picture of the universities as the monopoly of the elite. However, the Academy of Labor at Frankfurt brought about long ago a degree of fruitful labor-university cooperation. The proposed Academy at Hamburg is also a step in this direction (a move incidentally initiated by the unions and cooperatives, but agreed to by the University). In Darmstadt, students have turned to the unions for help. In Nuremberg, trade union youth leaders have worked with representatives of the University at Erlangen on a proposed law which would provide help for qualified but underprivileged young people to get an education.

Some university professors have always been available for work in the Volkshochschulen and with the unions, even in the face of majority disapproval of their colleagues.

Where interested university people exist, they should be counted in on the list of those available to help.

8. In the face of present paper quotas and the increasing paper shortage, the problem of reaching rank and file union members will remain in spite of the use of every available device.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Manpower Division should approach the unions with the proposal that each Land organization appoint an education secretary to coordinate and direct union educational work.

2. Manpower Staff should include a workers' education specialist as staff consultant, who should be available to travel as a consultant to the unions.

3. Manpower Staff member should work closely with officers in the Education Division in Berlin and in the Laender in the fields of adult education, vocational education, youth work and university extension.

4. Manpower Staff member should work with other OMGUS agencies to make resources in Germany available to unions for educational work: films, libraries, and publications, university and public school service, radio, and adult educational resources.

5. Manpower Staff member: should promote with union educational staff members zonal, bizonal and Laender conferences on workers' education to include a survey of German and American resources, to discuss problems of teacher recruitment and training, to pool experiences in resident school organization and administration, and to lay down lines of cooperation with other community educational agencies.

4. The unions are spending a great deal of time and energy on vocational training, some of which at least should be done by public school agencies, or of labor offices. There should certainly be more consciousness of its relation to general labor market needs,

A general lack of vocational school tool shops and school rooms, of opportunities for apprenticeships, plus the special needs of retraining refugees and veterans, may dictate the continuance of union activity in this field. (This is a service the unions may owe the community so long as the community cannot meet the demands.) A long run plan should call for trade union representatives on vocational school boards, industry advisory committees, apprentice examining boards and in vocational counselling services. This has happened in Bremen and is planned in Stuttgart.

With a broader and enriched vocational school curriculum, the work the Munich unions are doing through Karl Fitting in providing discussion of trade union problems for prospective vocational school teachers should be more widely known.

5. A positive and detailed adaptation of union program to the special needs of women is imperative. The unions in Hesse and Baden have held conferences on programs. The unions in Bavaria have a woman's secretariat. Working women are too exhausted with grappling with the food and housing situation, raising children, etc., to be easily available for any kind of activity outside the home.

The critical need from the union's point of view now is not so much program to meet the problems of these women, but consideration and experimentation with methods of working with them. The Arbeiterwohlfahrt in Stuttgart and Bremen, and probably in other places, have been able to develop an amazing volunteer staff for work with children, maintenance of sewing rooms, health centers, kindergartens, etc. This organization is under the leadership of trained social workers, nursery and kindergarten teachers, and nurses who recognize as part of their work the training and use of volunteers.

6. While schools cannot do the major educational work in the unions, they are indispensable for intensive training. The unions for the most part have large financial reserves now, which may be worthless or at best greatly devalued in a currency reform. Equipping schools, youth centers, rest homes and the like in so far as it can be done now with the shortage of materials should be an immediate program. Success in this direction means leaving some staff members free to work on this job alone, because it is a detailed, difficult and a time consuming task.

Leadership for these schools is not lacking, but because at the moment there is no opening for such people on a full time basis with the unions, they are being drained off into social work, work in the ministries, etc. They could, however, be mobilized if time and direction were given to the search.

6. Manpower Staff member should establish cooperative relations with American union educational departments to get help with teaching materials, school supplies, libraries and gifts of food.

7. The proposed exchange of students and teachers between the U. S. and Germany be broadened to include workers' education.

8. The attention of the unions should be called to the need for a scrutiny of their programs with women, with vocational education, with functional union groups, for the most positive use of the available resources in the interests of democratic labor education.

DIRECTORY OF TRADE UNION SCHOOLS  
IN WESTERN GERMANY AND BERLIN

The following directory was compiled by the Labor Relations Branch,  
Manpower Division, OMGSUS.

U. S. ZONE

Akademie der Arbeit  
Frankfurt am Main  
Zimmerweg 12

Landesgewerkschaftsschule  
Oberursel/Taunus  
Koenigsteinstr. 24

Bundesschule Kochel  
Kochel am See  
Bayern

Bundesschule  
Raintalerhof b. Garmisch  
Bayern

Schule Burgwall  
Blumenthal  
b. Bremen

Schule des Eisenbahnverbandes  
Hammersbach-Garmisch  
Bayern

BRITISH ZONE

Akademie fuer Gemeinwirtschaft  
Hamburg Universitaet  
Hamburg

Sozialakademie  
Dortmund

Schule Wennigser Mark  
Wennigen b. Hannover

Schule Hattingen  
Hattingen-Ruhr

Buntes Haus Gewerkschaftsschule  
Buntes Haus b. Bielefeld

Michael Rott Schule  
Krefeld

Schule Rummenohl  
Rummenohl/Sauerland

Gewerkschaftsschule  
Barsbüttel b. Hamburg

FRENCH ZONE

Bundesschule  
Allgemeiner Gewerkschaftsbund Baden  
Rheinfelden/Oberrhein

Bundesschule  
Allgemeiner Gewerkschaftsbund  
Rheinland-Pfalz  
Bad Muenster a. Stein

BERLIN  
(U. S. Sector)

August Bebel Schule  
Berlin-Wannsee  
Am grossen Wannsee

Leuschner Haus Schule  
Berlin-Dahlem  
Lentzeallee 7-9

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